

## Message Text

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14  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 CEA-01 AGR-05

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R 030741Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5341

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PL

SUBJECT: GIEREK SPEECH AT FIFTH PZPR PLENUM

1. SUMMARY. FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK'S "REPORT ON THE CONTINUED RELIZATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRAM OF THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS FOR THE GREATER EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ECONOMY" TO THE PZPR PLENUM ON DECEMBER 1, 1976, IS A LOW-KEY DEFENSE OF PARTY POLICIES INTENDED TO DISPEL POPULAR FEARS ABOUT THE FUTURE, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY ADMITTING SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND ANNOUNCING MINOR MODIFICATIONS OF THE PROJECTED FIVE-YEAR PLAN. IN THE ONLY EMOTIONAL PASSAGES OF THE SPEECH, GIEREK

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PLEADED FOR THE SUPPORT OF ALL FACTIONS OF SOCIETY. AT

THE SAME TIME, HE GENTLY CHIDED THE WORKING CLASS FOR INDIFFERENCE AND LOW PRODUCTIVITY. HE HARSHLY CONDEMNED MORE ELOQUENT CRITICS OF THE REGIME, ACCUSING THEM OF COOPERATION WITH COLD-WAR FORCES IN THE WEST AND "RAISING A HAND AGAINST THE FATHERLAND". WE ASSUME A COMPLETE TEXT OF THE SPEECH IS AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT THROUGH FBIS. END SUMMARY.

2. GIEREK ADMITTED THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND IS SERIOUS, AS HE HAD AT THE FOURTH PARTY PLENUM. HE REPORTED THAT POLAND WAS SHORT 3 MILLION HOGS AND WAS FORCED TO IMPORT 8 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN THIS YEAR AT A COST OF 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS. DEVELOPMENT OF THE COAL, METALLURGICAL, AND BUILDING INDUSTRIES IS NOT YET SATISFACTORY, GIEREK REPORTED. BOTH AGRICULTURE AND THE PRICE SYSTEM NEED RESTRUCTURING. BAD WEATHER, RECESSION IN THE WEST, AND LOW WORK PRODUCTIVITY ALSO EXACERBATED THE "STRAINS IN THE ECONOMY," WHICH WOULD HAVE OCCURRED ANYWAY AS THE RESULT OF DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT.

3. IN OUTLINING THE PLAN FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, GIEREK SOUGHT FIRST TO CALM THE FEARS THAT HAVE APPEARED EVERYWHERE IN SOCIETY. HE ANNOUNCED THAT PRICES WOULD REMAIN STABLE IN THE SHORT TERM. WHEN THE INEVITABLE INCREASES ARE ANNOUNCED, THEY WILL INCLUDE "A WAGE-AND-PRICE MECHANISM", WHICH WILL PROVIDE WORKING PEOPLE WITH THE "NECESSARY FEELINGS OF STABILITY AND CERTAINTY." FARMERS WERE TOLD THAT THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS FOR EXPROPRIATION OF POORLY FARMED LANDS WOULD BE RECONSIDERED, AND THAT AN EVENTUAL "CLEAR-SIGHTED SOLUTION" WOULD "IN NO WAY ENCROACH ON THE LEGALLY BASED RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP OF PEASANT FARMS." GIEREK SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK FOR THE YEAR AHEAD WAS TO PROVIDE GOODS FOR THE CONSUMER MARKET. MEAT PURCHASES ABROAD, REDUCED EXPORTATION OF COAL, AND ABOVE-PLAN PRODUCTION OF DOMESTIC MARKET PRODUCTS WORTH 10 BILLION ZLOTYS, WERE LISTED AMONG THE MEASURES ALREADY TAKEN. GIEREK ALSO THANKED THE SOVIET UNION FOR PROVIDING 1 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN DURING THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD.

4. GIEREK WAS LESS SPECIFIC ABOUT CHANGES IN THE ECO-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NOMIC STRUCTURE INTENDED TO INCREASE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION BY 48-50 PER CENT OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS DESPITE A CONTINUAL DECREASE IN INVESTMENT, BEGINNING WITH A 1.4 PER CENT DROP NEXT YEAR. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE GREATER PART OF THE PLANNED 16-18 PER CENT INCREASE IN REAL INCOME BY 1980 IS TO BE MOTIVATED BY THE INCREASED FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WORKERS TOWARDS THE FATHERLAND, MORE EFFICIENT WORK, AND GREATER UNDERSTANDING FOR ECONOMIC DIFFI-

CULTIES.

5. GIEREK EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE WORKERS WHICH "GREW BEYOND THE LEVEL OF ACTUAL CAPABILITIES." HE WAS, HOWEVER, VERY HARSH IN HIS ALLUSIONS TO THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE AND OTHER VOCAL OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME, CALLING THEM "INCORRIGIBLE REVISIONISTS."

6. COMMENT: WHILE GIEREK DENIED THE VALIDITY OF THE ARGUMENTS OF HIS CRITICS IN POLISH SOCIETY, HE INDIRECTLY RESPONDED TO SOME OF THEIR CRITICISMS BY POSTPONING THE GOVERNMENT'S FARMLAND EXPROPRIATION PROPOSALS. IN DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT'S USE OF "GOOD-NEWS" PROPAGANDA, HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS SHOULD BE MORE CLEARLY PRESENTED AND THAT THE "SCOPE OF INFORMATION" SHOULD BE BROADENED. GIEREK MADE CLEAR THAT HIS MAIN PREOCCUPATION IS TO SURVIVE THE YEAR AHEAD.

6. WE DOUBT THAT THE FIRST SECRETARY'S SPEECH WILL SERVE TO MOBILIZE PUBLIC OPINION BEHIND HIM. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT SHOULD NOT UNDULY ANTAGONIZE REGIME CRITICS NOR SUCH IMPORTANT ELEMENTS AS THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND FARMERS. IT WILL NOT, HOWEVER, LESSEN THE WIDESPREAD FEELING IN POLISH SOCIETY THAT THE REGIME IS DRIFTING, HOPING ONLY TO MUDDLE THROUGH TO BETTER HARVESTS AND INCREASED INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AS FACTORIES BROUGHT IN THE WEST IN RECENT YEARS COME ON STREAM.  
DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REPORTS, PARTY LEADERS, PARTY MEETINGS, SPEECHES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976WARSAW08617  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760447-0864  
**From:** WARSAW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761273/aaaaciat.tel  
**Line Count:** 144  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 14 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <14 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <04 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GIEREK SPEECH AT FIFTH PZPR PLENUM  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, PL, (GIEREK, EDWARD)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006